

# The Military Necessities of the United States Require That Pearl Harbor Should Be Made the Gibraltar of the Pacific

The main reason for the annexation of Hawaii was the necessity, from a military standpoint, of keeping other nations out of the group. Hawaii bears the same strategic relation to the western coast of the United States that Bermuda does to the Eastern coast, with the marked difference that while Bermuda is one of dozens of islands, off the Atlantic coast, Hawaii is the only island within striking distance of the western coast.

Hawaii in the hands of a great power would be a standing menace to the United States.

Hawaii in the hands of the United States is more potent as a protection to the latter than a fleet of a dozen battle ships.

This is not a new thought. From the days when Secretary of State Daniel Webster announced his readiness to fight the French, if it was necessary to keep them out of Hawaii, and the great Democratic Secretary of State William L. Marcy declared the settled policy of the United States to be that "We will not allow Hawaii to be owned by or to fall under the protection of either England or France or of any other European nation," to the similar declaration of Blaine, McKinley, Mahan and Schofield the key-note of American policy concerning Hawaii, has been: "Regardless of consequence and at all hazards, other nations must be kept out of Hawaii."

The only way to ensure such policy is to so strengthen the military defenses of Hawaii that no enemy can take possession.

The only way to ensure such result is to improve and fortify Pearl Harbor, for the reason that there is no other harbor in Hawaii capable of the necessary development and defence.

A century of diplomacy and effort is liable to fail if Pearl Harbor is not now made into a naval station, for in the words of Generals Schofield and Alexander, hereunder quoted: "If the United States are ever to have a harbor of refuge and naval station in the Hawaiian Islands in the event of war, the harbor must be prepared in advance by the removal of the Pearl River bar. When war has begun, it will be too late to make this harbor available, and there is no other suitable harbor on these islands."

The bar has been removed. All that remains to be done is to remove a few sand spits, establish the naval station and fortify the entrance.

Hawaii is the great strategic center of the Pacific.

Pearl Harbor is the Key of Hawaii.

It is up to Congress to put the cap stone upon a century of American diplomacy and effort by vigorously pushing this great work of national defense, by making Pearl Harbor the Gibraltar of the Pacific.

The following are the officially expressed opinions of great Americans who support these views:

## Opinions of Presidents of the United States Concerning the Control of Hawaii.

### PRESIDENT JOHN TYLER.

Extracts from special message to the Senate relating to Hawaii, December 31, 1842.

"It cannot but be in conformity with the interest and wishes of the government and the people of the United States that this community (Hawaii) should be respected, and all its rights strictly and conscientiously regarded. Its near approach to this continent, and the intercourse which American vessels have with it—such vessels constituting five-sixths of all which annually visit it—could not but create dissatisfaction on the part of the United States at any attempt by any other power, should such attempt be threatened or feared, to take possession of the islands, colonize them and subvert the native government."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 847.)

### PRESIDENT MILLARD FILLMORE.

President Fillmore was even stronger than President Tyler in his expressions that the United States must keep foreign countries out of Hawaii.

See dispatches of Webster and Clayton, Secretaries of State under Fillmore, printed herewith, written by order of the President.

### PRESIDENT FRANKLIN PIERCE.

President Pierce adopted fully the views of his predecessors concerning Hawaii, and caused a treaty annexing Hawaii to the United States to be negotiated in 1854.

### PRESIDENT JAMES BUCHANAN.

President Buchanan agreed with the other American statesmen of his time, and in a dispatch dated September 3, 1849, when he was Secretary of State, stated that "English or French control of Hawaii would be highly injurious to the interests of the United States."

### PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON—1868.

The following is an extract from the annual message of President Johnson to the Fortieth Congress, December 10, 1868:

"I am aware that upon the question of further extending our possessions it is apprehended by some that our political system cannot successfully be applied to an area more extended than our continent, but the conviction is rapidly gaining ground in the American mind that, with the increased facilities for intercommunication between all portions of the earth, the principles of free government, as embraced in our constitution, if faithfully maintained and carried out, would prove of sufficient strength and breadth to comprehend within their sphere and influence the civilized nations of the world."

"The attention of the Senate and of Congress is again respectfully invited to the treaty for the establishment of commercial reciprocity with the Hawaiian Kingdom, entered into last year and already ratified by that government. The attitude of the United States towards these islands is not very different from that in which they stand towards the West Indies. It is known and felt by the Hawaiian government and people that their institutions are feeble and precarious; that the United States, being so near a neighbor, would be unwilling to see the islands pass under foreign control. A reciprocity treaty, while it could not materially diminish the revenues of the United States, would be a guarantee of the good will and forbearance of all nations until the people of the islands shall of themselves, at no distant day, voluntarily apply for admission into the Union."

### PRESIDENT U. S. GRANT.

President U. S. Grant favored annexation to control Hawaii. (See dispatches of his Secretary of State, William H. Seward, printed herewith.)

In February, 1871, he sent a confidential message to Congress, accompanying a strong letter from U. S. Minister Pierce, recommending annexation, and commending the subject to the consideration of the Senate.

### PRESIDENT CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

President Arthur was in full sympathy with American control of Hawaii. (See dispatches of Secretary of State Blaine, dated December 1, 1881, printed herewith.)

### PRESIDENT BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Extracts from special message to Senate, February 15, 1893, accompanying the Annexation Treaty:

"The influence and interest of the United States in the islands must be increased, and not diminished. . . ."

"It is essential that none of the great powers shall secure these islands. Such a possession would not consist with our safety and with the peace of the world."

### PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

Extracts from message to Senate,



BENJAMIN HARRISON.

June 15, 1897, accompanying Annexation Treaty:

"The incorporation of the Hawaiian Islands into the body politic of the United States is the necessary and fitting sequel to the change of events which, from a very early period in our history, has controlled the intercourse and prescribed the association of the United States and the Hawaiian Islands."

"From 1820 to 1893 the course of the United States toward the Hawaiian Islands has consistently favored their autonomous welfare with the exclusion of all foreign influence save our own, to the extent of upholding eventual annexation as the necessary outcome of that policy."

## Opinions of Secretaries of State of the United States Concerning the Control of Hawaii.

### SECRETARY OF STATE DANIEL WEBSTER.

First public statement of superior interest of United States in Hawaii.

Upon application of the Hawaiian government for recognition by the United States, Secretary of State Webster replied on December 19, 1842, that the matter had been submitted to the President (Tyler), and

"The President is of opinion that the interests of all the commercial nations require that that government (Hawaii) shall not be interfered with by foreign powers. . . . The United States . . . are more interested in the fate of the islands and of their government than any other nation can be, and this consideration induces the President to be quite willing to declare, as the sense of the government of the United States, that the government of the Sandwich Islands ought to be respected; that no power ought either to take possession of the islands as a conquest or for the purpose of colonization, and that no power ought to seek for any undue control over the existing government, or any exclusive privileges or preferences in matters of commerce."

(Appendix 2, For. Rel. of the U. S., 1844, p. 44.)

Webster's views were elaborated in 1851, as follows:

### SECRETARY OF STATE H. S. LEGARE.

June 13, 1843, Secretary of State Legare sent a dispatch to Edward Everett, U. S. Minister at London, in which the relations of the United States to Hawaii are mentioned, by reason of the recent seizure of the islands by England. In this connection he says:

"It is well known that . . . we have no wish to plant or to acquire colonies abroad. Yet there is something so entirely peculiar in the relations between this little commonwealth Hawaii and ourselves that WE MIGHT EVEN FEEL JUSTIFIED, CONSISTENTLY WITH OUR OWN PRINCIPLES, IN INTERFERING BY FORCE TO PREVENT ITS FALLING INTO THE HANDS OF ONE OF THE GREAT POWERS OF EUROPE. These relations spring out of the local situation, the history and the character and institutions of the Hawaiian Islands, as well as out of the declarations formally made by this government during the course of the last session of Congress, to which I beg leave to call your particular attention."

"If the attempts now making by ourselves, as well as other Christian powers, to open the markets of China to a more general commerce be successful, there can be no doubt but that a great part of that commerce will find its way over the Isthmus. In that event it will be impossible to overrate the importance of the Hawaiian group as a stage in the long voyage between Asia and America. But, without anticipating events which, however, seem inevitable, and even approaching, the actual demands of an immense navigation make the free use of these roadsteads and ports indispensable to us. . . . It seems doubtful whether even the undisputed possession of the Oregon Territory and the use of the

Columbia river, or indeed anything short of the acquisition of California (if that were possible), would be sufficient indemnity to us for the loss of these harbors."

(Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, Vol. 2, p. 921.)

### SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BUCHANAN.

On the 3d of September, 1849, Secretary of State Buchanan sent a dispatch to the United States Minister resident at Honolulu, Ten Eyck, concerning the relations between Hawaii and the United States, in view of the threatening conduct of the French against Hawaii, in which the following words are used:

"We ardently desire that the Hawaiian Islands may maintain their independence. It would be highly injurious to our interests if, tempted by their weakness, they should be seized by Great Britain or France; more especially so since our recent acquisitions from Mexico on the Pacific ocean."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 897.)

### SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN M. CLAYTON.

In a dispatch from Secretary Clayton to U. S. Minister Rives at Paris, July 5, 1850, referring to the differences between the French and Hawaiian governments, he made the following statement:

"The Department will be slow to believe that the French have any intention to adopt, with reference to the Sandwich Islands, the same policy which they have pursued in regard to Tahiti. If, however, in your judgment it should be warranted by circumstances, you may take a proper opportunity to intimate to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France that the situation of the Sandwich Islands, in respect to our possessions on the Pacific, and the bonds, commercial and of other descriptions, between them and the United States, are such that WE COULD NEVER WITH INDIFFERENCE ALLOW THEM TO PASS UNDER THE DOMINION OR EXCLUSIVE CONTROL OF ANY OTHER POWER."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 895.)

### WEBSTER'S VIEWS IN 1851.

Secretary of State Webster on June 18, 1851, addressed U. S. Minister Rives at Paris, instructing him to immediately inform the French government that the further enforcement of the French demands against Hawaii would be tantamount to a subjugation of the islands to the dominion of France. A step like this could not fail to be viewed by the government and people of the United States with a dissatisfaction which would tend seriously to disturb our existing friendly relations with the French government."

And he is further instructed to make such representations to France "as will induce that government to desist from measures incompatible with the sovereignty and independence of the Hawaiian Islands, and to make amends for the acts which the French agents have already committed there in contravention of the law of nations and of the treaty between the Hawaiian government and France."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 905-6.) Secretary of State Webster, replying to U. S. Minister Severance at Honolulu, on July 14, 1851, says, after reciting that the demands of France were improper, and "could only end in rendering the islands and their government a prey to the stronger commercial nations of the world."

"It cannot be expected that the government of the United States could look on a course of things leading to such a result with indifference."

"The Hawaiian Islands are ten times nearer to the United States than to any of the powers of Europe. Five-sixths of all their commercial intercourse is with the United States, and these considerations, together with others of a more general character, have fixed the course which the government of the United States will pursue in regard to them. The announcement of this policy will not surprise the governments of Europe, nor be thought to be unreasonable by the nations of the civilized world, and that policy is that while the government of the United States, itself faithful to its original assurance, scrupulously regards the independence of the Hawaiian Islands, it can never consent to see those islands taken possession of by either of the great commercial powers of Europe."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 908.) A copy of the above letter from Secretary Webster to Minister Severance was simultaneously with its dispatch, furnished to all the members of the diplomatic corps in Washington, in circular form, which caused offense to the French government, but it nevertheless acquiesced in its terms, and desisted from the course of aggression which it had been following.

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel.,

concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 913.)

At this time the French were so threatening in Hawaii that the Hawaiian government requested the American Consul, E. H. Allen, to go personally to Washington and represent the state of affairs, which he did. Upon making his statement to Secretary Webster, the latter replied:

"I TRUST THE FRENCH WILL NOT TAKE POSSESSION; BUT IF THEY DO, THEY WILL BE DISLODGED, IF MY ADVICE IS TAKEN, IF THE WHOLE POWER OF THE GOVERNMENT IS REQUIRED TO DO IT."

### SECRETARY OF STATE W. L. MARCY.

Secretary of State W. L. Marcy addressed a communication on December 16, 1853, to Mr. John Mason, U. S. Minister to France, in which he states:

"I do not think the present Hawaiian government can long remain in the hands of the present rulers or under the control of the native inhabitants of these islands, and BOTH ENGLAND AND FRANCE ARE APPRISED OF OUR DETERMINATION NOT TO ALLOW THEM TO BE OWNED BY OR TO FALL UNDER THE PROTECTION OF EITHER OF THESE EUROPEAN NATIONS."

"It seems to be inevitable that they must come under the control of this government."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 914.)

INSTRUCTIONS OF MARCY TO NEGOTIATE ANNEXATION TREATY.

On the 4th of April, 1854, Secretary of State Marcy sent a dispatch to David L. Gregg, U. S. Minister at Honolulu, giving special instructions on the subject of annexation, viz:

"In your general instructions you were furnished with the views of this government in regard to any change in



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the political affairs of the Sandwich Islands. The President was aware, when those instructions were prepared, that the question of transferring the sovereignty of those islands to the United States had been raised and favorably received by many influential individuals residing therein. . . . If any foreign connection is to be formed, the geographical position of these islands indicates that it should be with us. In view of the large American interests there established and the intimate commercial relations existing at this time, IT MIGHT BE WELL REGARDED AS THE DUTY OF THIS GOVERNMENT TO PREVENT THESE ISLANDS FROM BECOMING THE APPROPRIATE OF ANY OTHER FOREIGN POWER."

### SECRETARY OF STATE WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

In reply to a dispatch from U. S. Minister McCook, suggesting the possibility of the annexation of Hawaii, Secretary Seward wrote to him, July 13, 1867:

"You are at liberty to sound the proper authority on the large subject mentioned in your note (annexation), and ascertain probable conditions. You may confidentially receive overtures and communicate the same to me."

(Vol. 3, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 948.)

In a dispatch to U. S. Minister McCook at Honolulu, of September 12, 1867, Secretary Seward says:

"It is proper that you should know, for your own information, that a lawful and peaceful annexation of the islands to the United States, with the consent of the people of the Sandwich Islands, is deemed desirable by this government; and that if the policy of annexation should really conflict with the policy of reciprocity, annexation is in every case to be preferred."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 951.)

### SECRETARY OF STATE HAMILTON FISH.

In a dispatch from Secretary Fish to the American Minister at Honolulu,



JAMES G. BLAINE.

March 25, 1873, the following occurs:

"The position of the Sandwich Islands as an outpost fronting and commanding the whole of our possessions on the Pacific ocean, gives to the future of those islands a peculiar interest to the government and people of the United States. IT IS VERY CLEAR THAT THIS GOVERNMENT CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO ASSENT TO THEIR TRANSFER FROM THEIR PRESENT CONTROL TO THAT OF ANY POWERFUL MARITIME OR COMMERCIAL NATION."

"SUCH TRANSFER TO A MARITIME POWER WOULD THREATEN A MILITARY SURVEILLANCE IN THE PACIFIC SIMILAR TO THAT WHICH BERMUDA HAS AFFORDED IN THE ATLANTIC—THE LATTER HAS BEEN SUBMITTED TO FROM NECESSITY, INASMUCH AS IT WAS CONGENITAL WITH OUR GOVERNMENT—BUT WE DESIRE NO ADDITIONAL SIMILAR OUTPOSTS IN THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO MAY AT SOME FUTURE TIME USE THEM TO OUR DISADVANTAGE."

"The condition of the government of Hawaii and its evident tendency to decay and dissolution force upon us the earnest consideration of its future—possibly its near future."

"There seems to be a strong desire on the part of many persons in the islands—representing large interests and great wealth—to become annexed to the United States. And while there are, as I have already said, many and influential persons in this country who question the policy of any insular acquisitions, perhaps even of any extension of territorial limits, there are also those of influence and of wise foresight who see a future that must extend the jurisdiction and the limits of this nation, and that will require a resting spot in mid-ocean, between the Pacific coast and the vast domains of Asia, which are now opening to commerce and Christian civilization."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 827.)

### SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES G. BLAINE.

In 1881, the British government having made certain demands upon the Hawaiian government, arising out of the reciprocity treaty with the United States, negotiated in 1875, Mr. Blaine, in a dispatch dated December 1, 1881, to U. S. Minister Comly at Honolulu, used the following language:

"This government firmly believes that the position of the Hawaiian Islands as the key to the dominion of the American Pacific demands their benevolent neutrality, to which end it will earnestly co-operate with the native government; and if, through any cause, the maintenance of such a position of benevolent neutrality should be found by Hawaii to be impracticable, this government would then unhesitatingly meet the altered situation by seeking an avowedly American solution for the grave issues presented."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 831.)

In a further dispatch he said: "THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES . . . HAS ALWAYS AVOINED, AND NOW REPEATS, THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL IT PERMIT THE TRANSFER OF THE TERRITORY OR SOVEREIGNTY OF THESE ISLANDS TO ANY OF THE GREAT EUROPEAN POWERS. IT IS NEEDLESS TO RESTATE THE REASONS UPON WHICH THAT DETERMINATION RESTS. IT IS TOO OBVIOUS FOR ARGUMENT THAT THE POSSESSION OF THESE ISLANDS BY A GREAT MARITIME POWER WOULD NOT ONLY BE A DANGEROUS DIMINUTION OF THE JUST AND NECESSARY INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE WATERS OF THE PACIFIC, BUT IN THE CASE OF INTERNATIONAL DIFFICULTY IT WOULD BE A POSITIVE THREAT TO INTERESTS

TOO LARGE AND IMPORTANT TO BE LIGHTLY RISKED."

### SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN W. FOSTER.

Secretary of State Foster made a report accompanying the treaty of annexation negotiated by him February 15, 1893, in which he says:

"The policy of the United States has been consistently and constantly declared against any foreign aggression in Hawaii inimical to the necessarily paramount rights and interests of the American people there, and the uniform contemplation of their annexation as a contingent necessity. But beyond that it is shown that annexation has been on more than one occasion avowed as a policy and attempted as a fact."

(Ib., Vol. 1, p. 136.)

### SECRETARY OF STATE JOHN SHERMAN.

John Sherman approved of annexation, having negotiated and signed the final treaty of annexation, June 15, 1897. For a long time Mr. Sherman doubted the wisdom of annexation. He finally favored the measure upon the express and sole ground that the control of Hawaii was a military necessity.

## Opinions of U. S. Ministers Concerning the Control of Hawaii.

### U. S. MINISTER EDWARD EVERETT.

Edward Everett, U. S. Minister at London, sent a dispatch to the U. S. State Department, relating to the seizure of Hawaii by the English, and their subsequent restoration thereof.

In the course of the dispatch he says: "There is now reason to think that the occupation of the islands by Lord George Paulet was a fortunate event, inasmuch as it prevented them from being taken possession of by a French squadron, which (it is said) was on its way for that purpose. Had France got possession of the islands she would certainly have retained them."

"Had intelligence been received here of Lord George Paulet's occupation of them before her promise was given to recognize them, England, I think, would not have given them up. As it is, an understanding between the great European powers, amounting, in effect, if not in form, to a guaranty of their independence, is likely to take place. This is the only state of things with which the United States could be content, as it will be brought about without involving us in any compacts with other powers . . ."

(Vol. 2, Rep. Sen. Com. on For. Rel., concerning Hawaiian Islands, p. 926.)

### U. S. MINISTER, GEN. EDWARD MCCOOK.

In a dispatch to Secretary Seward, dated September 3, 1866, U. S. Minister McCook, at Honolulu, after giving a general resume of conditions of the islands, says:

"Geographically these islands occupy the same important relative position towards the Pacific that the Bermudas do towards the Atlantic coast of the United States, a position which makes them important to the English, convenient to the French, and, IN THE EVENT OF WAR WITH EITHER OF THOSE POWERS, ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO THE UNITED STATES."

### U. S. MINISTER HENRY A. PIERCE.

On February 25, 1871, Mr. Henry A. Pierce, then U. S. Minister at Honolulu, wrote to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish a dispatch concerning annexation, which, upon reference to President Grant, was deemed by him so important that he forwarded it to the Senate, accompanied by a confidential special message recommending it to the consideration of the Senate.

The dispatch from Mr. Pierce is as follows:

"Impressed with the importance of the subject now presented for consideration, I beg leave to suggest the inquiry whether the period has not arrived making it proper, wise and sagacious for the United States government to again consider the project of annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the territory of the republic. That such is to be the political destiny of this archipelago seems a foregone conclusion in the opinion of all who have given attention to the subject in this country, the United States, England, France and Germany. . . ."

"I now proceed to state some points of a more general character, which should influence the United States government in their decision of the policy of acquiring possession of this archipelago: Their geographical position, occupying, as it does, an important central, strategic point in the North Pacific ocean, valuable, perhaps necessary, to the United States for a naval depot and coaling station, and to shelter and protect our commerce and navigation, which in this hemisphere is destined to increase enormously from our intercourse with the 500,000,000 population of China, Japan and Australia. Humboldt predicted that the

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